

CIA/OCI/BEIEF 180-75
21 NOVEMBER 1975

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00800B000300010082-9

SECRET/NFD

1 OF 1

Doc/SER

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Secret
NOFORN

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2

SECRET NOFORN

WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 180-75.4

//BRAZIL: BRAZIL'S RUSH TO RECOGNIZE THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA ON THE DAY THE AFRICAN TERRITORY BECAME INDEPENDENT REQUIRES MORE EXPLANATION THAN THE BRAZILIANS HAVE SO FAR SEEN FIT TO GIVE. AT FIRST GLANCE, THE ACTION SEEMS TO CONTRADICT THE POLICY IMPLICIT IN THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE BRAZILIAN MISSION IN LUANDA WHEN IT WAS ESTABLISHED LAST JANUARY, WHICH WERE TO OBSERVE EVENTS CLOSELY, BUT TO STAY OUT OF DOMESTIC MATTERS.//4

//FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS CAN MAINTAIN THAT RECOGNITION DOES NOT MEAN APPROVAL AND THAT BRASILIA HAS, IN STRICT LEGAL TERMS, MERELY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE MPLA IS IN DE FACTO CONTROL OF THE ANGOLAN CAPITAL. THE FIRMLINESS OF THIS SHAKY POSTURE, HOWEVER, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE TESTED BY THE WARRING AFRICAN MOVEMENTS IN ACTIONS THAT COULD PROVE HIGHLY EMBARRASSING TO THE BRAZILIANS. THE DIPLOMATIC GESTURE PROBABLY HAS ALREADY CAUSED SOME CHAGRIN AMONG CONSERVATIVE BRAZILIAN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHO SEE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS VIRTUALLY ALONE IN RECOGNIZING A REGIME THAT OWES ITS EXISTENCE TO SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY SUPPORT.//4

3

SECRET NOFORN

//THE ACT OF RECOGNITION SEEMS TO BE A GAMBLE THAT, OVER THE LONG TERM, THE ANGOLANS WILL REMEMBER ONLY THAT BRAZIL WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE THE NEW NATION. FOREIGN MINISTER ANTONIO AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA HAS SAID PRIVATELY THAT A MAJOR CONSIDERATION WAS TO SPUR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND MOZAMBIQUE--WHICH FOLLOWED ON NOVEMBER 15. ULTIMATELY THE BRAZILIANS SEEK TO EXPAND TRADE RELATIONS AND FORGE CLOSER DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH THE EMERGING NATIONS OF PORTUGUESE AFRICA. THESE ASPIRATIONS MAY PROVE TO BE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC DESPITE BRAZIL'S APPARENT EAGERNESS TO ERASE THE PAST. BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S HISTORICAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS TACIT SUPPORT OF PORTUGUESE FOREIGN POLICY, IT IS ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS RESENTED THAN THE PORTUGUESE THEMSELVES. (CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN) E-2 IMPDET.H

DO/DBO

25X1A

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NOVEMBER 21, 1975

OCI/WHB

1027

OUTGOING MESSAGE

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	12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OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

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PAGE 3 OF 3

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:

☐ NO INDEX

☐ RETURN TO PER

☐ NO FILES #

ASSEMBLY OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZES THAT THEIR CLAIMS TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER SELF-DETERMINATION. THE ALGERIANS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO RETURN THE SAHARAN PROBLEM TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH IN PAST RESOLUTIONS HAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.4

ALGERIAN PRESS STATEMENTS SUGGEST ALGIERS IS WILLING TO SUPPORT A STRUGGLE BY THE POLISARIO FRONT, A PRO-INDEPENDENCE SAHARAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT THAT ALGIERS BACKS. A RECENT ARTICLE IN AL-SHAAB, A DAILY NEWSPAPER THAT USUALLY REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE BOUMEDIENE GOVERNMENT, DECLARED THE BEST RESPONSE TO THE TRIPARTITE DEAL WAS THE DETERMINATION OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE TO RESIST THE MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN "INVADERS." THE ARTICLE ADDED THAT ALGERIA, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WOULD SUPPORT SAHARANS STRUGGLING TO LIBERATE THEIR TERRITORY.4

ALGERIA IS UNLIKELY TO INITIATE DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION, BUT IT WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS, A SANCTUARY, A PROPAGANDA OUTLET, AND POSSIBLY SOME "VOLUNTEERS" TO THE POLISARIO FRONT. ALGERIAN TRUCKS WERE RECENTLY OBSERVED IN THE MAURITANIAN PORT CITY

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

E 2 IMPDET

CL BY:

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FORM

12E

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PAGE UP PAGE

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

4

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

INDEX DISSEM BY:

NO INDEX

RETURN TO PER

IP FILES #

OF NOUADHIBOU, ALLEGEDLY SECURING SUPPLIES FOR POLISARIO UNITS
IN THE SOUTHERN SAHARAN BORDER AREA WHERE THERE APPARENTLY IS
SUBSTANTIAL SYMPATHY FOR THE FRONT.

THE POLISARIO FRONT IS QUIETLY ACQUIRING A FOOTHOLD IN THE
SAHARA. UNITS OF THE POLISARIO FRONT HAVE TAKEN OVER THE
SOUTHERN SAHARAN TOWN OF GUERA AND HAVE ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES ALONG
THE MAURITANIAN-SAHARAN BORDER IN AN ATTEMPT TO FILL THE VACUUM
CREATED BY SPAIN'S WITHDRAWAL FROM TWO THIRDS OF THE TERRITORY.
THE FRONT HAS DECLARED IT WILL FORCIBLY RESIST THE AGREED-UPON
MAURITANIAN-MOROCCAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE REGION. {CONFIDENTIAL}
E-2 IMPDET.

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

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FORM 100

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AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO OCI PAGE OF PAGES
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CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

0 INDEX DISSEM BY:
0 NO INDEX
0 RETURN TO PER
0 IP FILES #

EAST ASIA BRIEF 180-754

1. MALAYSIA: A POWER PLAY BY PRIME MINISTER RAZAK AGAINST HIS CHIEF RIVAL, DUTUK HARUN IDRIS, HAS CAUSED NEW POLITICAL TENSION AND APPREHENSION THAT COMMUNAL STRIFE MAY ERUPT AGAIN.4

RAZAK HAS THREATENED TO BRING EMBEZZLEMENT CHARGES AGAINST HARUN UNLESS THE LATTER AGREES TO POLITICAL EXILE BY ACCEPTING THE POST OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN. RAZAK'S DEADLINE PASSED ON TUESDAY, AND IT APPEARS THAT HARUN IS DEFYING THE PRIME MINISTER.4

AS HEAD OF THE UNITED MALAYS NATIONAL ORGANIZATION YOUTH MOVEMENT AND CHIEF MINISTER OF POPULOUS SELANGOR STATE, WHICH SURROUNDS KUALA LUMPUR, HARUN ALSO HAS AN IMPORTANT INDEPENDENT POLITICAL BASE FROM WHICH TO CHALLENGE RAZAK. HARUN ALSO HAS BUILT A POPULAR FOLLOWING BY CHAMPIONING NARROW MALAY INTERESTS AND PLAYING ON ANTI-CHINESE FEELING WITHIN THE MALAY COMMUNITY. HE HAS FOR YEARS COMPLICATED RAZAK'S EFFORTS TO KEEP MALAYSIA'S COMMUNAL PROBLEMS IN BALANCE. HARUN, A HERO TO MANY LESS SOPHISTICATED MALAYS, IS SUSPECTED OF HAVING PLAYED A ROLE IN FOMENTING THE DESTRUCTIVE ANTI-CHINESE COMMUNAL RIOTS IN 1969.4

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

PAGE 3 OF 3

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:

☐ NO INDEX

☐ RETURN TO PER

☐ IF FILES #

ETHNIC CHINESE LEADERS ARE CONCERNED THAT AN OPEN CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTY LEADERS MIGHT LEAD TO VIOLENCE THAT COULD EASILY ASSUME ANTI-CHINESE OVERTONES. RAZAK RECOGNIZES THIS DANGER, HOWEVER, AND REPORTEDLY IS PUTTING HIS INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES ON ALERT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

2.// CHINA: AFTER YEARS OF INNER PARTY WRANGLING OVER EDUCATIONAL POLICY, PEKING HAS APPARENTLY SECURED MAO'S ENDORSEMENT FOR POLICY CHANGES THAT WOULD RAISE THE LEVEL OF ACADEMIC TRAINING IN CHINA'S UNIVERSITIES.//4

//THE RENEWED CONCERN FOR ACADEMIC QUALITY, IN LINE WITH CHINA'S DRIVE TO MODERNIZE THE ECONOMY BY THE END OF THE CENTURY, WOULD IN EFFECT REVERSE THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES ADOPTED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION OF THE MID-1960S. THOSE POLICIES, WHICH PUT PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON POLITICS RATHER THAN ON SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT, WERE STAUNCHLY DEFENDED BY THE PARTY'S LEFT WING AND HAVE RENDERED CHINA'S UNIVERSITIES VIRTUALLY INEFFECTIVE AS INSTITUTES OF HIGHER LEARNING.//4

//ACCORDING TO A DOCUMENT CIRCULATING IN CHINA, MAO HAS

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICER

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

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FORM 12E

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

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CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

0 INDEX DISSEM BY:

0 NO INDEX

0 RETURN TO PER

0 IF FILE #

CALLED FOR MORE STUDY OF BASIC SCIENTIFIC THEORY AND HAS WARNED STUDENTS TO LEARN FROM THEIR TEACHERS RATHER THAN WASTE TIME STATING THEIR OWN OPINIONS. HE REPORTEDLY HAS ASKED CHINA'S INTELLECTUALS, WHO HAVE LONG BEEN COMED BY ATTACKS FROM PARTY LEFTISTS, TO HELP IMPROVE THE UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM.//4

//DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, PARTY LEFTISTS DISMISSED THE STUDY OF BASIC SCIENTIFIC THEORY AS UNNECESSARY AND PROMOTED THE NOTION THAT STUDENTS WERE ON A PAR WITH THEIR TEACHERS. THEY ALSO ADVOCATED THAT UNIVERSITIES DEVOTE MOST OF THEIR TIME TO TEACHING POLITICS, WHICH CONSISTED MAINLY OF MAO'S WRITINGS.//4

//IN THEIR ATTACKS ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND ON TEACHERS IN PARTICULAR, THE LEFTISTS WERE IN FACT ECHOING MAO'S OWN SENTIMENTS AT THE TIME. HIS RECENT REPUDIATION OF THESE POLICIES, HOWEVER, MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR PARTY LEFTISTS TO CONTEND THAT THEY ARE ACTING ON BEHALF OF MAO IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO HIGHER EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS. THE CHAIRMAN'S TURNABOUT ON THIS ISSUE IS THE LATEST AND MOST STARTLING CONFIRMATION THAT HE HAS NOW ABANDONED SOME OF HIS VISIONARY IDEAS OF THE LATE 1950S AND 1960S

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

E 2 IMPDET

CL BY:

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

FORM

12F

USE PREVIOUS

OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

SIGNAL CENTER USE ONLY

AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO GCI

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

PAGE OF PAGES

5

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

0 INDEX DISSEM BY:

0 NO INDEX

0 RETURN TO PER

0 IP FILES #

AND THAT THE PARTY LEFT WING IS CURRENTLY IN ECLIPSE.//4

//POSSIBLY EMBOLDENED BY MAO'S SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR THE NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICIES, THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION MADE A SPEECH IN SEPTEMBER STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE MINISTER CLAIMED THAT THE GOAL OF EDUCATION IS NOT TO SEND STUDENTS TO THE RURAL AREAS TO WORK AS COMMON LABORERS BUT TO EQUIP THEM WITH FUNDAMENTAL KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY CAN APPLY TO THEIR FIELD OF WORK. HE SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZED PEKING UNIVERSITY FOR FAILING TO EDUCATE ITS STUDENTS PROPERLY.//4

//PEKING IS NOT LIKELY IN THE SHORT TERM TO ABANDON ITS POLICY OF SENDING THE MAJORITY OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES TO THE COUNTRYSIDE, WHERE THEY ARE MOST NEEDED. WHATEVER CHANGES MAY OCCUR IN THIS POLICY OVER THE LONGER TERM ARE LIKELY TO BE GRADUAL.//4

//AS A RESULT OF THE MINISTER'S SPEECH, PEKING AND TSINGHUA UNIVERSITIES, TWO OF CHINA'S BEST, ANNOUNCED THAT CURRENT CURRICULA WILL BE REVAMPED, THAT SCIENCE AND RESEARCH WILL BE EMPHASIZED, AND THAT ENTERING STUDENTS WILL BE REQUIRED TO TAKE EXAMINATIONS.

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

E 2 IMPDET

CL BY:

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

FORM

12E

USE PREVIOUS

OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

1	4	7
2	5	8
3	6	9

SIGNAL CENTER USE ONLY

AGE COI ALP TOG TPE MRO DCI

PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

6

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILES #

ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS HAVE BEEN A PARTICULARLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUE SINCE 1973, WHEN A COALITION OF PARTY LEFTISTS AND SOME MILITARY MEN OPPOSED THEIR USE AND FORCED PEKING TO PUT LESS EMPHASIS ON THEM.//4

//CHINA'S INTELLECTUALS REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO HELP THE UNIVERSITIES IMPROVE THEIR CURRICULA FOR FEAR THAT EDUCATIONAL POLICY WILL SUFFER YET ANOTHER REVERSAL. DESPITE THEIR MISGIVINGS, IT APPEARS THAT THE MAJORITY OF CHINA'S POLITICAL LEADERS ARE INTENT ON IMPROVING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD MODERNIZING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.//4

//ALTHOUGH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI COMPLAINED AS EARLY AS LAST JANUARY THAT THE CURRENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS NOT ADEQUATE FOR CHINA'S ECONOMIC NEEDS, IT WAS APPARENTLY NOT UNTIL MAO'S APPROVAL OF CHANGES WAS MADE KNOWN IN JUNE THAT EDUCATORS BEGAN MAKING IMPROVEMENTS. MAO'S RECENT STATEMENTS ON EDUCATION, HIS FIRST SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HAVE BEEN THE MISSING INGREDIENT IN THE LONG-STANDING EFFORTS OF PEOPLE LIKE CHOU EN-LAI AND TENG HSIAO-PING TO MAKE MUCH-NEEDED CHANGES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

E 2 IMPDET

CL BY:

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010082-9

FORM 12F

USE PREVIOUS

2		5		8	

AGE COI ACP TOG TTY MRO DCI
OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

PAGE 7 OF 7

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET NOFORN
MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IP FILES #

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2

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR DATE-TIME GROUP CITE MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILE #

EUROPEAN BRIEF 180-754

1. PORTUGAL: INFORMED SOURCES IN LISBON SAY THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY OF SUSPENDING ITS ACTIVITIES ON THURSDAY CONSTITUTES AN ULTIMATUM TO PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES TO FIRE SECURITY CHIEF OTELO DE CARVALHO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF CARLOS FABIAO.4

THE CENTER-LEFT POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION WAS ENDORSED BY THEM, THE SOCIALISTS, AND THE "ANTUNES NINE" AND THAT THEIR DEMANDS ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE.4

ALTHOUGH NO RESOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE IS ANTICIPATED FOR SEVERAL DAYS, DURING WHICH TIME COSTA GOMES IS EXPECTED TO PROPOSE VARIOUS COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS, IN THE END IT IS HOPED THE PRESIDENT WILL BOW TO THE GOVERNMENT'S WISHES. IF HE FAILS TO GO ALONG, IT IS AVERRED, HE MAY BE REPLACED--BUT THE PLAN FOR ACCOMPLISHING THIS IS NOT SPELLED OUT.4

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT PROBABLY FEELS IT HAS NO VIABLE ALTERNATIVE SHORT OF OUTRIGHT RESIGNATION OR CAPITULATION TO COMMUNIST DEMANDS FOR GREATER REPRESENTATION, ITS PRESENT COURSE DOES CONTAIN SOME

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DATE:
ORIG:
UNIT:
EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER COORDINATING OFFICERS AUTHENTICATING OFFICER
CLASSIFICATION REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED E 2 IMPDET
CL BY:

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GOMES DID LEAVE THE COUNCIL MEETING TO RETURN TO LISBON AND ADDRESS THE CROWD. IN A BRIEF STATEMENT HE CALLED FOR UNITY AND ASSURED THE DEMONSTRATORS THAT HE WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SEE THAT THE COUNCIL'S DECISIONS WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS. [CONFIDENTIAL]

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH TO THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 11 WAS LESS SYCOPHANTIC TOWARD THE SOVIETS THAN HIS LAST MAJOR PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESS ON OCTOBER 13, 1972.4

DESPITE THE DECREASED ADULATION ACCORDED THE SOVIET UNION IN HIS RECENT ADDRESS, CHNOUPEK PAID PROPER OBEISANCE TO THE BASIC TENETS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE." IN SHORT, HE SAID NOTHING TO WHICH MOSCOW MIGHT OBJECT.4

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHNOUPEK'S SPEECH THIS TIME AND HIS EARLIER ONE PROBABLY ARE A RESULT OF A GROWING SENSE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE OF BOTH THE REGIME AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER HIMSELF. ALTHOUGH PRAGUE HAS NOT

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COMPLETELY SHED THE PARIAH IMAGE IT GAINED IN THE POST-DUBCEK PERIOD, ITS FOREIGN POLICY HAS SCORED MAJOR SUCCESSES OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. CHNOUPEK, WITH SOME PRIDE, EMPHASIZED CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S INCREASING ACCEPTABILITY, AS HE TICKED OFF THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN CONTACTS, NEW INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS, AND COUNTRIES WITH WHICH PRAGUE HAS ESTABLISHED RELATIONS. CHNOUPEK TAKES PERSONAL CREDIT FOR THE "FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES" ACHIEVED SINCE HE BECAME FOREIGN MINISTER IN DECEMBER 1970. IN FACT, HE APPEARS TO HAVE DONE SO WELL THAT, BY SOME ACCOUNTS, HE IS SLATED TO MOVE UP INTO THE PARTY PRESIDIUM. Y

ON BALANCE, CHNOUPEK SEEMED TO BE PROMOTING AN IMAGE OF A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY THAT FOLLOWS A CO-ORDINATED FOREIGN POLICY. HIS PERSONAL STYLE AND POLISH MAY HAVE MADE SOME ELEMENTS OF THE ADDRESS APPEAR NEWER THAN THEY WERE. PARTS OF HIS SPEECH WERE CLEARLY AIMED AT THE FOREIGN DIPLOMATS WHO

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WERE CONSPICUOUSLY INVITED TO ATTEND. HIS REMARKS
ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE, FOREIGN TRADE OFFICES
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THE REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED
FAMILIES WERE DELETED IN THE LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE.

{CONFIDENTIAL} Y

3. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: CZECHOSLOVAK DISSIDENTS RECENTLY USED A
"LITTLE THEATER" PERFORMANCE ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PRAGUE DIS-
CREETLY TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND THEIR
SUBTLE DEFIANCE OF THE REGIME.Y

AN UNANNOUNCED, UNADVERTISED, AND ADMISSION-FREE PERFORMANCE OF
JOHN GAY'S "BEGGARS OPERA" ALLOWED A "FULL CROSS SECTION" OF DISSIDENT
INTELLECTUALS TO GATHER PUBLICLY IN STRENGTH AND TO ENJOY DRAMATIC
FARE UNCOMMON IN HUSAK'S "NORMALIZED" CZECHOSLOVAKIA. UNLUCKILY FOR
THE LOCAL OFFICIAL WHO PERMITTED THE PERFORMANCE,

- THE ADAPTATION OF THE PLAY WAS NOT THE APPROVED
VERSION BY BERTHOLD BRECHT THAT HAS RUN SUCCESSFULLY
IN EAST BERLIN.Y

INSTEAD, THE PLAYERS PERFORMED AN ADAPTATION

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

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PAGE

OF

PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

7

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITIZ

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INFO1 DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILE #

BY AN OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF THE REGIME, VACLAV HAVEL WHO HAS TURNED THE PLAY INTO A STINGING POLITICAL SATIRE AIMED AT THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP. FOR INSTANCE, THE LANGUAGE OF THE EXPLANATION TO THE BEGGAR-THIEF ON WHY HE SHOULD COOPERATE WITH THE POLICE COULD HAVE BEEN LIFTED VERBATIM FROM ANY RECENT SPEECH BY HUSAK ON CZECHOSLOVAK COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.4

THE DISSIDENTS SUCCESSFULLY HOODWINKED THE SECURITY FORCES BY CONCEALING THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PERFORMANCE AND BY PASSING WORD OF THE EVENT QUIETLY. THE REGIME'S REACTION TO THE PERFORMANCE WAS RAPID AND TOUGH. ITS ORGANIZER WAS INTERROGATED BY POLICE FOR 13 HOURS, AND STERNLY WARNED AGAINST PUBLICIZING THE EVENT IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THE ENTIRE CAST WAS THREATENED WITH ARREST.

THE DISSIDENTS THEMSELVES HAVE SOUGHT TO SUPPRESS THE STORY, APPARENTLY SATISFIED THIS TIME WITH THEIR MODEST SHOW OF RESISTANCE. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

4. ROMANIA: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TOOK ADVANTAGE OF LE DUAN'S

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AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO DCI

PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

8 8

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

0 INDEX DISSEM BY:
0 NO INDEX
0 RETURN TO PER
0 IF FILE: #

VISIT TO ROMANIA FROM NOVEMBER 13 TO 17 TO ASSERT
ONCE MORE BUCHAREST'S DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS
INDEPENDENT POLICIES, FREE FROM SOVIET INTERFERENCE.4

IN HIS TOAST TO LE DUAN ON NOVEMBER 17, CEAU-
SESCU DECLARED THAT HIS PARTY SEEKS CLOSER RELATIONS
WITH ALL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES, THUS IMPLI-
CITLY INCLUDING THE CHINESE. HE ALSO SAID THAT RO-
MANIA WANTS TO STRENGTHEN SOCIALIST UNITY BY STRESSING
THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF ALL PARTIES, NONINTERFERENCE IN
INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND RESPECT FOR EVERY PARTY'S RIGHT
INDEPENDENTLY TO ESTABLISH ITS POLITICAL LINE IN KEEP-
ING WITH THE REALITIES OF ITS OWN SITUATION.4

CEAUSESCU WENT ON TO SAY THAT RESPECT FOR IN-
DEPENDENCE IN PARTY AFFAIRS MUST ALSO APPLY TO STATE
RELATIONS. HE INVOKED THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI TO
PROMOTE SOME FAVORITE THEMES--ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN
MILITARY BASES, WITHDRAWAL OF ALL TROOPS WITHIN NA-
TIONAL BORDERS, AND THE DISCONTINUANCE OF MILITARY

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

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AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO DCI PAGE OF PAGES
OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 9

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SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILE #

BLOCS.Y

IN AN ALLUSION TO BUCHAREST'S LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONY, CEAUSESCU LAUDED THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FOR DEMONSTRATING THAT A PEOPLE'S DETERMINATION TO DEFEND THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THEIR "SACRED RIGHT" TO DEVELOP ALONG THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM CAN CARRY THEM TO VICTORY NO MATTER WHAT THE ODDS OR THE SACRIFICES.Y

LE DUAN'S VISIT, WHICH CAME ON THE EVE OF THE LATEST ROUND OF PREPARATORY TALKS IN EAST BERLIN FOR A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, GAVE CEAUSESCU AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO DRIVE HOME BASIC ROMANIAN POSITIONS. PARTY SECRETARY STEFAN ANDREI WILL PRESS THE CEAUSESCU LINE DURING THE CURRENT DELIBERATIONS IN THE EAST GERMAN CAPITAL. {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

5. ROMANIA: BUCHAREST REPORTEDLY BELIEVES THAT THE VISIT OF SYRIAN PRIME MINISTER AYYUBI LAST WEEK WENT "MUCH BETTER THAN EXPECTED."Y

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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SIGNAL CENTER USE ONLY

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO DCI PAGE OF PAGES
OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 10

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILES #

IN AN EFFORT TO PUT THE BEST FACE POSSIBLE ON THE VISIT, BOTH SIDES PUT ASIDE BILATERAL DIFFERENCES ON A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS--ARAB ANNOYANCE WITH ROMANIA'S ABSENCE FROM THE UN DURING THE VOTE ON ANTI-ZIONISM, THE ARAB BOYCOTT OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL AIRLINE TAROM, AND THE PRESENCE OF ROMANIAN CARGO ON BOARD THE FIRST SHIP TO PASS THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL EN ROUTE TO ISRAEL. MEDIA COVERAGE CENTERED ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE TALKS, BUT RECENT ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO PLAY A PEACE-MAKING ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST UNDOUBTEDLY WORKED THEIR WAY INTO THE AGENDA.

AYYUBI ARRIVED WITH A LONG LIST OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT PAST ROMANIAN-SYRIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR IN BUCHAREST.

THE EGYPTIAN ALSO ASSERTED THAT PRESIDENT SADAT WARNED AYYUBI TO AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO A POLITICAL DISCUSSION WITH CEAUSESCU.

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE IS SIMILAR TO OTHERS

DATE:
ORIG:
UNIT:
EXT:

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1	4	7
2	5	8
3	6	9

SIGNAL CENTER USE ONLY

AGE COI ACP TOG TPR MFO DCI

PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

11

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILED #

SIGNED BY ROMANIAN AND THE MORE MILITANT ARABS. THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, NO REFERENCE TO "GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY OF ALL STATES" IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE COMMUNIQUE DOES, HOWEVER, CONTAIN ONE APPARENT CONCESSION TO BUCHAREST--A SYRIAN PLEDGE TO ASSIST ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT "IN APPROPRIATE FORMS." DAMASCUS HAD REPORTEDLY OPPOSED PREVIOUS ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH FORMAL TIES TO THE NONALIGNED. {CONFIDENTIAL}

6. ALBANIA: THE WIDESPREAD PURGES THAT ARE REPORTEDLY SWEEPING THE ALBANIAN BUREAUCRACY HAVE EVIDENTLY NOT AFFECTED THE TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP. ON NOVEMBER 17, A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY MET TO DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION. ALL POLITBURO MEMBERS WERE PRESENT, INCLUDING PARTY CHIEF ENVER HOXHA--WHO IS STILL POLITICALLY VERY ACTIVE DESPITE WHATEVER AILMENTS HE MAY HAVE.

OPENING SPEECHES AT THE ASSEMBLY SESSION STRONG-

DATE:

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EXT:

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Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86J00608R000300010082-9

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

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AGE COI ACP TOG TPE MRO DCI

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

PAGE 12 OF 12 PAGES

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET NOFORN

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IF FILE #

LY SUGGEST THAT HOXHA WILL OBTAIN RATIFICATION OF THE REFORM MEASURES HE HAD APPARENTLY ADOPTED IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN HIS OWN AND THE PARTY'S HOLD OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS AND TO REDUCE EXCESSIVE BUREAUCRACY.4

ON THE EVE OF THE SESSION THE PARTY'S OFFICIAL PAPER, ZERI I POPULLIT, PUBLISHED A LEAD EDITORIAL WRITTEN BY RAMIZ ALIA, THE ALBANIAN PARTY'S CHIEF IDEOLOGICAL SPOKESMAN. ALIA'S RINGING ENDORSEMENT OF HOXHA'S POLICIES CLEARLY SIGNALLED TO THE PARTY FAITHFUL THAT REGARDLESS OF THEIR UNSETTLING EFFECT ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY THE RECENT PERSONNEL CHANGES HAVE THE ENDORSEMENT OF TOP LEADERS. {CONFIDENTIAL}4 E-2, IMPDET.4

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